[198 cont.]

×648 All this took place in August, 1742. At this same time Abulkhair, his son Erali, the famous Batyr Djanibek, several sultans and elders, and the common people who were then with him swore an oath of loyalty to Empress Elizabeth. On this occasion, after the feast, a company of grenadiers performed their rifle practice. The Dzungarian envoys had not yet gone, and Abulkhair did not fail to say to them that one could be secure under the protection of the Empress of Russia, who had such troops.

[128] After the departure of the envoys, Nepluev did his best to show Abulkhair that neither the Little nor the Middle Hordes should attack the domains of Galdan Tsyren. Abulkhair seemed to yield to his admonitions and promised that in future his subjects would not renew their former raids.

Similar admonitions were still more needful to Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, who was even closer to the Dzungars and who had recently felt the cruelty with which they avenged ×648 their injuries. Nepluev was expecting him at Orenburg at this 662 time, and he was only a day's journey from there, but he turned on his tracks because of rumors spread by Abulkhair that he and his elders would be held as prisoners when they arrived on Russian territory. Hoping that the reason for Abul Mahmet's departure would never be known, Abulkhair asserted his own submission to Nepluev, which he set up against the supposed obstinacy of his rival, whom he sought every means of injuring. The motive of all these schemings of Abulkhair was not only to injure Abul Mahmet but also to carry out a plan which was quite difficult to accomplish. He wished to give [199] another son, Chingis, in exchange for his son Khodja Akhmet, who was then a hostage in Orenburg.

[595] But Chingis was the son of a concubine and not of a khaness, and Nepluev, who was acting according to the instructions and views of his predecessors, could not receive Chingis in place of Sultan Khodja Akhmet. The Khan was so angry at this refusal that he ●[622] wished to leave immediately, but he soon calmed down and agreed to await the decision of the supreme authority on this matter.

The artful, hypocritical, ambitious, and violent nature of Abulkhair was diametrically opposed to the mildness and goodness

[201 cont.]

[448] [622] [152] Meanwhile Abulkhair concealed his resentment and never ceased to give assurances to everyone of his devotion to Russia, asserting that all these attacks had been made by Kazaks who were disobeying him. He even went so far as to advise that they be penalized and punished by death (2).

2. See the letter of July, 1743 from Khan Abulkhair to Nepluev.

But when the troops were reinforced along the Russian border, and the Bashkirs profited by the absence of the Kazaks [727] to attack their auls and began to carry off their studs, Abulkhair thought seriously of halting the raids. But this was no longer in his power to do. His people, greedy for plunder, wished to be at peace only when they were alarmed by the advance of Russian troops across the Ural to go into the steppes to punish the [461] brigands. This was only a rumor, spread on purpose, no doubt, by the prudent head of the Orenburg region. Yet this was not where the true intentions of the Russian government lay. It did not wish to lose the regular army in pursuing nomad brigands in the desert wastes, but found it more advantageous to punish them through another people, as restless and as unfaithful as the Kazaks themselves. In a word, the government wished to arm the Kalmuks against them. In the meantime, Nepluev was ordered (3) to [202] try to seize Kazaks of the leading families

3. See the ukase of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of October 31, 1743.

as hostages. Either as a consequence of this order or for some other reason, Abulkhair suddenly delivered a considerable number of Russian subjects who had been taken prisoner by his horde during the most recent raids, and promised to return the others soon.

[724] The year 1744 not only failed to bring peace along the Russian border, but even increased the dangers of those who lived there, for Khan Abulkhair removed his mask and took an open part in the hostilities of his people. His more daring subjects continued

/216 cont./

692 peasant chief). The latter settle cases for all sums, but a final decision can be made in cases involving a sum no higher than 500 rubles.

[648] [175] Attempts by the Russian government (in 1830 and the 1850's) to reform the people's court ended in failure and made its position so much worse that the reform of 1868, which returned to the old electoral basis of the courts, could not restore the necessary respect to the court. The present biy is a candidate of a certain party, acting in its interests. The court of the biy is held publicly, and a great role is played by the oath of the witnesses or guarantors of the litigants. In addition to the court of the biy there is a domestic court (a survival of the patriarchate) of chosen kinsmen or of one "aksakal." These men conduct the affairs of the clan and are not subject to the control of the biy. Finally there is a court of arbitration which is usually turned to before the people's court.

628 Here one should mention the baranta -- the restoration of violated rights by force or by "one's own judgment." It consists of driving away the livestock of an offender. The best riders of a village take part in a baranta, and much courage and cleverness are necessary to seize horses from the village of the offender. The village that suffers in turn undertakes an attack by way of revenge on the village of the attackers. It can happen that whole volosts take part in a baranta (1).

[648] 1. The immigrants to the Akmolinsk oblast had to cope with baranta in the very first days of their life in the new land. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ not only took the horses from the fields, but also pulled the stables down. In this way the Kirghiz /Kazak/ avenged the restriction of their land which was taking place.

614 622 The patriarchal relationships within the clan and the family are also maintained. The aksakal (the chief of the clan)

614 /216 cont./
622 is the most honored and respected person, whose decision is equal in power to the judgment of a biy. The father occupies the central position in the family. He is the full and absolute master, while the woman and children are in the position of servants. The conditions of life place the woman considerably higher, however, than she would have to be juridically. In fact she is the main head of the house, since on her shoulders lies the raising of the children, the preparation of food and clothing, going out for the livestock near the village, the making of articles for domestic use, the setting up of the dwelling (yurt) and keeping it in order, etc. In general she takes a large part and even the major part in all the household affairs of the family, and by this very fact she emerges from the unenviable position in which she is placed by law. According to the law, she is the simple property of her husband, and after his death she comes into the possession of the brother or family of her husband (this last, however, has already begun to go out of usage).

We shall say a few words about the principal rituals of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ marriage can never be considered a sacrament or sacred ritual as it is, for example, among us. Among them it is a civil arrangement. Modern marriages are arranged primarily on the basis of such considerations as becoming allied with a clan that is rich in land, or with a clan that is influential in elections, or, finally, to improve the household by means of the bride-money /kalym/. On these bases the personal participation of the groom and bride becomes superfluous, and an agreement is possible while they, the groom and bride, are still in the cradle. In former times the bride-money was of two types -- the sultan type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ type. The former /217/ consisted of 47 head of various kinds of livestock (camels, horses, cows, and smaller animals), and the latter of 37 head of the same livestock. The entire clan of the bride took part in raising the bride-money, and the entire clan of the groom shared in receiving it. Now only the father of the bride takes part in providing the bride-money, for which reason its size has begun to vary greatly. /The author's further remarks

565 descent which unite the Kazakhs as a people also divide them into aristocrat and commoner, noble and subject. There are three identifiable
[567] social classes, aristocrats, commoners, and slaves. (The slaves are an important class in traditional Kazakh society, but are not central to the discussion here.) At some point in history, the senior descent line segregated itself from the other lines and achieved aristocratic status. The head of the senior family of the senior descent line is the Khan of all the Kazakhs—so goes the theory of Kazakh kinship and social organization.

C93 These aristocratic descent lines formed the ruling strata of the
602 hordes, the clans, and of all Kazakhdom when they were united. From
[565] their ranks came the khans and lesser leaders (sultans, begs, and clan chiefs) by right of first-born descent. Hordes were ruled by descent lines, clans by aristocratic lineages.

The supreme ruler of the Kazakhs, when there was one, bore the title of Khan. Sultans in Central Asia are of lower rank, the equivalent of princes. The Kazakh domain, when split, divided into a number of principalities whose rulers were sultans, even though some of them dared to assign themselves the more grandiose title of khan. A sultan was rarely a sovereign or independent ruler. The begs and clan chiefs were sometimes identical, but the beg was a local leader whose region varied in scope; it might be no larger than a village or a group of villages, or it might be larger than a clan.

613 Kin villages and families likewise had their individual patriarchal
[623] leaders. The lineage, however, is a different type of organization. It did not have a chief or center of patriarchal authority unless it was small enough for all its members to live in one large kin village; yet it could be so large as to be identical in size with a clan, in which case it would be ruled by a clan leader. The primary function of the lineage was to serve as a marriage unit, the genealogies once again providing
[588] the basis for the practices adopted. Kazakh boys and girls could not marry if they had a common male ancestor in the seventh generation; with kinship in the eighth degree or higher marriage was permitted. The genealogy traced back to the seventh ascending male ancestor is the smallest lineage of the Kazakh. The lineage is a unit of varying scope, depending on the function involved; the lineage for marital purposes comprised seven generations, the genealogy memorized by an individual many times that.[1]

421 Each clan had a distinctive manner of marking the ears of or
614 branding its livestock to differentiate the stock from that of other clans.
[598] However, the clan was not the property-owning unit. The clan leader might step in and make a decision regarding a pasturage or head of cattle in dispute between two villages, for the judicial authority rested ultimately in his hands; his decisions might appear biased in his favor, but he could not permanently dispose of pasturage or stock which was not his own, even though it bore the brand or earmark of the clan he led. Similarly, until collectivization, the village authority rested in the
[622] hands of a village elder who served as a judge, but rarely could the
[598] judge dispose of property which was not his own.[2]

[1]Grodekov, 1889, p. 27; Alnyssaria, 1870, p. 104.

[For footnote see cat. 116, f. 41 - ANALYST.]

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may even place the authority in the hands of an adult son, if he has one, or a brother. Recourse to such action may be taken only rarely, but it is nevertheless a recognized delimitation of paternal powers. The parental authority over the son serves as the model for all authority patterns in Kazakh society, such as those involving the village elder, the clan leader, the beg, and the khan.[1]

In the past the parental authority was limited in another sense; the family was part of a village which camped and pastured its herds in common. The leaders of the village decided when and where to camp, when to change camp, when to break up the winter concentration of herds and families and move to the more dispersed spring and summer pastures.[2] A family head disobeyed these decisions at his risk. It was to his interest to follow them, since he gained many things thereby: fellowship, social position, protection from dangers by weight of numbers, assistance in time of need. The village in turn was subordinate to the clan authority if there was one. In case of raids, feuds, or other breaches of the peace, a village leader would appeal to the clan chief for aid. In a dispute between villages, a village elder would appeal to his clan chief for a judgment in his favor.

The village elder was the judge of his community, and decided all cases, usually with the support of the other senior men of the village. Appeals from their decisions were rare, defiance of their decisions even rarer. Behind the judgment of the village leader and the other elders lay the force of social solidarity, the weight of the entire village; defiance meant ejection and flight. Defiance of father by the son had similar consequences. The ultimate authority rested with the khan, if there was one, and if he cared to use his power, for he backed his authority with an army and the right of punishment by death or imprisonment, in addition to the force of his position.

The Kazakh household could include several wives if the position and wealth of the master allowed it. In one community studied, the Adai lineage on Mangyshlak peninsula, half the men had only one wife and half had two. In general, very few families contained more than two wives, although there is in theory no upper limit on the number of wives (exclusive of concubines) that a man can have. The ideal number of wives in princely families was considered to be five or nine—in contrast to the ideal number of wives for Moslems which the Koran gives as four. The family and marriage patterns of the Kazakhs are among the traits which give a pronouncedly non-Islamic coloring to their society.[3]

A youth was given his own tent and appurtenances when he came of age; traditionally he was soon to be married, and in fact a substantial number were married by the time they were 20 years old. Even as late as 1926, 222 out of every 1,000 males were married by that age, and in former years the rate was higher. The tent was not identical with the household unit. A young married couple with children did not

[1] Izraztsov, 1897, pp. 5, 11.
[2] Radloff (104), 1893, p. 513; Rudenko et al, 1930, pp. 4-8.
[3] Kuruts (73), 1910, p. 42.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [602] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

698 538 Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a [438] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 565 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow [620] villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen [602] who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1] Aristov, 1896, pp. 394-395.

621 [627]

under the direction of the village leader. The leader and the elders decided all questions concerning village activities. The administration of justice was in the hands of the elders, while the enforcement of decisions was a common village enterprise; thus the village peace was kept. The raw framework of the village collectivity moved as a unit into the Soviet era.

582 613

The Kazakh lineage supplied the basis for the practice of marrying outside the group. The lineage occupied a common territory, and during the course of the past century the unit of common residence rather than the unit of descent and kinship has served to regulate marriage. Wives are sought outside the village; girls leave their native villages to join their husband's people, although this may not involve moving a great distance. The lineage is today generally identical with the village, and under the Soviet regime, with the collective farm. There is today the practice of kolkhoz exogamy.[1]

[621] [494]

595 [627]

The practice of polygamy has likewise proved compatible with Soviet conditions. In former times, the many-wived family was the family of the well-born, the rich, the influential; today, the many-wived family is that of the village leader, the kolkhoz president, the brigade foreman. The leviratic marriage of the widow to the brother of the deceased or to another close kinsman has also accommodated itself to Soviet conditions, within the framework of the extended family, for among the peoples of the steppe this practice depends upon and reinforces the extended family structure. In Kazakhstan, the extended family rests on the close integration of several fraternal households and the conjugal families of a father and his sons and at times even grandsons.

596 [589]

595 [589]

The Soviet ideological campaign has directed attention to the practice of polygamy among leading elements in Kazakh collective farms; similarly, a number of reports indicate that leviratic marriage is still practiced. Soviet ethnographers do not discuss these institutions from the standpoint of the functions of the Kazakh extended family and the Kazakh village community. Instead, they have made a political issue out of what they are pleased to call the survival of the feudal mores. But they choose to ignore the fact that the practices which they condemn are part and parcel of the existing family and village system.

665

The status of women in Kazakhstan is a serious question to Soviet ideologists. In 1944, in 1949, and again in 1951, the Kazakh Party leadership was briefed by the Central Committee in Moscow regarding the participation of Kazakhs, of Kazakh women, and of literate and educated people in the Kazakh Communist Party (see Chapter 6, which deals with the Party). That the program has evidently fallen short of plan is suggested by the repetition of the instructions. The Kazakhs are not coming forward for training in Party work, despite the fact that they are periodically encouraged to do so, and despite the prestige and material advantages of Party membership. And the women lag behind the men in this respect.

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Woman's position in Kazakh society, and the Soviet failure to understand the background of this position, has important consequences in the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "bäks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

613 an elder, called bii, who was respected for the seniority of his line of descent within the group, the authoritativeness of his judgment, and his age. Conflicts within a lineage would be smoothed over by agreements among the individual biis, each one representing the rights of his sub-lineage. The authority of the biis depended on their relations both to their followers and to one another; some through their individual personalities could resolve the profoundest oppositions.[84]

613 0622 554 The bii's scope of authority was thus variable; moreover, his "jurisdiction" was also variable: for the same term was applied to the elder or most respected man in a sub-lineage, in a village, or any small-scale formation generally. Several smaller sub-lineages might combine to form a new lineage under the leadership of an influential bii, taking on the name of that man who led and represented the new formation. But the bii's power was rarely if ever recognized unconditionally, and according to the European notion, his office was to some extent a usurpation since there was no chiefly office.[85] However, this is somewhat far-fetched, since he performed important social functions in the resolution of conflicts and the adjudication of disputes; his social status, however, was founded on consanguineal, and not politico-administrative relations, hence Radlov's idea that his office was a usurpation.

[84] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 514.

[85] Idem.

622. 177, 62. The village head or elder was the aksakal (literally, white beard),[88] who was the senior male member of the highest ranking family as measured by birth in the village. His social position was somewhat comparable to that of the bii, his functions likewise, and it is only later, in consequence of Russian administrative reforms and regularisations that a clear-cut distinction is possible. Radlov reports that toward the end of the century, the bii was the village leader, being the senior member of the wealthiest family in the village, or the eldest male in that family which, in addition to its claim to priority by right of birth or wealth, had the largest number of closely related families in the village to back it up. The inference to be drawn is that the bii, who was a man who regulated affairs between village-kin-groups, now dominated over several groups who formerly had occupied different villages, but now to an ever increasing degree were combined in one. His functions remained the same, it is merely that the composition of the village had changed. By Radlov's day, the Kazakh aul which had an influential bii was usually a combination of several units which formerly would have been separate auls, or else it was one aul which was expanded by the addition of remnants of other auls in the form of families which had once combined to make them up.[89] In

[88] Levchine, 330.

[89] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 513.

622 a similar manner, we have seen this very process at work
177. in the formation of new lineages, whether maximal or
62 minimal, or even clans, with the exception that the process here described involves the transformation of the village through new developments in administration and economy. Nevertheless, the acculturative pattern took on traditional forms, that is, the new village was built up by a process already encountered in lineage fusion. The bii, through his wealth, spiritual powers, sense of justice, and large number of kin (who were able to support his word if necessary by their very strength of numbers) thus continued to dominate the new forms of Kazakh life.[90]

622 At the end of the century, the bii was regarded by
177. the Russians as a kind of official judge, beneath whom
62 692 was the aksakal, recognized as a popular judge who lived within the village, regulated its affairs in an informal manner. The bii, in contrast, concerned himself largely with inter-aul matters, which is a formalization of the relative positions as they had been reported in the previous era.[91] One of the most important functions of the bii, whether in the matter of inter-aul or intra-aul relationships, was the determination and resolution of conflict regarding the winter pastureages.

[90] Ibid., I, 513-514.

[91] Sabataev, 66. Sabataev's observations bear rather on the Kazakhs of the Middle and Little Hordes, but may be taken to be relevant for the Kazakhs generally.

[cf. especially Cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 405 ff. -- Analyst]

[i.e. elder; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

conflict regarding the winter pasturages.

The bii[1] moreover had important functions in regulating marriage settlements, although he had little authority over the family of the bride, if for example, it should alter the amount of dowry it had arranged to settle on the bride.[92] The reason for this is clear: the family of the bride had a different set of consanguineal relationships, she belonged to another lineage, another village (as a rule) under the judiciary guidance of another bii. Thus we observe in a direct manner a further functioning of the principle of patrilineal descent, in its effect on the authority of the local elders and judges, delimiting their power according to the extent of their agnatic kin.

Even in the period starting with the end of the 19th century, when strong acculturative influences were instituted, the principle of descent in the paternal line continued to play a dominant role. The Kazakhs of the Great Horde were now settled in Russian administrative districts called volosti, which were in turn divided into still smaller units. According to Izrastsov, the influence of the bii[1] seldom extended beyond the smaller division of the volost' in which he lived, and even more rarely extended beyond the volost' itself. The force of his

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[92] Izrastsov, 82.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. cat. no. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

[Great Horde]

622 judgments were likewise restricted; and the same agnatic
611 principle obtained: most of the inhabitants of a volost'
177 were kin, and the volost' was in general the means for
63
632 recognising and preserving the legal integrity of the
692 kin unit in this manner.[93] And even if the new kinship groupings were not the same as those existing prior to the Russian culture contact, nevertheless the fiction in force made those in the same volost' kin to each other, and carried forward the principles upon which Kazakh society was based, even though in an altered external form.

622 Both under the new and the old (i.e., before and
611 after the Russian conquest) forms, a man stood with his
602 kinsmen regardless of where his own sympathies might lie,
692 and he supported the judgments of his bii[1] against all outsiders, both the more distant kinsmen and strangers. Thus through the person of the local judge the principle of agnatic kinship determined the mode of adjudicating disputes between affinally related families, between or among various auls, or persons belonging to different families, auls, sub-lineages, etc. And the relationships thus called into dispute had been established in the first place through the operation of other rules within the principle of agnatic kinship. The affinally related families necessarily belonged to different patrilineages

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[93] Ibid., 4, 26.

[1] [i.e. elder; cf. Cat. ms, AHI Mongolia, p. 411 ff. -- Analyst]

632 because of the rule of lineage exogamy. The members of
611 an aul generally were related because one's most trusted
602 friend was one's closest kinsman, upon whom one could
692 place the greatest reliance for mutual aid measured in wealth or arms. And the bii himself embodied the agnatic principle because he was in the ideal circumstance the senior male in the ranking family of a Kazakh community.

177.60 One effect of culture contact at the end of the 19th
601 century, we have seen, was the organization of the Kazakhs into Russian administrative units; and despite this new mode of social organization, certain structural principles continued to exert their force: namely, the inhabitants of a given district recognized either a real or assumed kinship with others of the district. The acculturative process may be further examined to see which structural features survived as the least common denominator of
177. Kazakh life, and which were stripped away. The division
56 of the Kazakhs into estates by seniority of descent lines
565 through primogeniture and differential succession has been discussed. These estates, the white bone or aristocracy, and the black bone or commoners, did not intermarry until after the Russian conquest, when the young people of the succeeding generation, that is, from the late 1880's and on, began to ally themselves in marriage, regardless of white or black estate, without difficulty.[94]

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[94] Dingelstedt, 146.

[Great Horde]

681 distributed among the elders of the clan or lineage, etc.
602 The remaining half was further divided, part being dis-
613 tributed among the more distant kin of the victim; how much was thus given out was up to the family of the victim, but it was impossible to give nothing. A slighted kinsman would appeal to the elders of the community, and was given a share of the kun proportional to the closeness of kinship. The remainder was divided among the sons of the victim, or if there were none, among the next of agnatic kin.[159]

177.68 The unit for payment,[1] after the reorganization of
681 Kazakh society under Russian impact was the aul; despite
621 the composition of the village at this time by segments of various lineages, it continued to act through a convenient fiction as though it were a unitary kin group. Support for payment of the kun was drawn from neighbors within the aul and from the kinsmen, both of whom were treated sociologically as a unit. If the guilty refused to pay, then the lineage or the clan, now settled in a volost', simply raided the guilty man's herds and made seisure of the requisite amount.[160]

9 222 The biis[2] would often require that kin in the seventh
602 degree of agnatic kinship take the oath in support of the
695 accused. By this was meant, if the man were adjudged
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177. 69

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[159] Idem.

[160] Radloff, op. cit., I, 525.

[1] [i.e. of wergeld; cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 448ff. --Analyst]

[2] [on the biis, cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, pp. 411-412 --Analyst]

guilty, the kin up to the seventh degree would be required to support him in the payment of the indemnity. Such a proceeding took place in 1885, some years after the Russian conquest, and represents a certain hardening of the judicial practice; nevertheless, this hardening was precisely of those features observable in Kazakh society in the previous era. The power of the bii's decree now had the force of a court sentence, backed up by an absolute coercive instrument: a police system, a state mechanism, and so forth; but the person of the bii, and his kinship and social relations were more or less the same as before. The number of degrees of kinship recognized in a judgment were now fixed, but they were the same relationships which had been more vaguely defined in the preceding era.[161] Moreover, the entire proceeding was reported by an officer of the court to the Russian authorities; this signalizes the fact that the judges now had to bear in mind how the Russian provincial administration would respond to a judgment of a certain sort. Nevertheless, from all this we may see how vital the principle of kinship remained in the processes of adjudication, even under conditions of acculturation. We may observe how considerations of kinship operated in the legal process; and how legal data are significant in the interpretation of the consanguineal system.

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[161] Dingelstedt, 520.

[Middle Horde]

58 reciprocal one; on coming of age, the son could make no more demands on the father; the allotment made was at the same time a quittance of further obligation.

428 A distinction was made between the inheritance of real property and the transmission of such intangibles as authority. The father was the absolute lord in his family, and his authority passed, in accordance with the principle of primogeniture, to the eldest son, or lacking a son, to a brother of the deceased. Related families were gathered into villages, aul, and a village elder, or bii, generally had a position of influence in public affairs, and a limited amount of authority in intra-family matters. Thus there was a limitation on the paternal power.

[428] The leadership of a sub-lineage, a village, or a family, passed in the direct line through the eldest sons.[168] The status of bii some decades later, in the 1860's, is described as quasi-hereditary, and a case is cited by Valikhanov in which it remained in one family through four generations.[169] The office later came to be appointive, and only quasi-hereditary.

695 Among these Kazakhs of the Middle Horde, one means
584 of settling disputes is reported as having especial promi-

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[168] von Lebedour, II, 459-461.

[169] Valikhanov, 162.

621 necessary to distinguish between tents and families, contrary to the identification made by the estimates and censuses. Radlov's data are offered as being general for the Kazakhs; they are the result of his studies and travels in the latter third of the 19th century, presumably referring to the winter camps. Meyendorff's figure is for what he considered a large aul, nevertheless it falls within the lower limit of Radlov's range. In the interim the Kazakhs took up agriculture to an even greater extent; there is no difficulty therefore in accepting the validity of both observations, in fact they tend to corroborate each other. The neighboring Kalmuks had winter groupings of similar size, and from these various considerations we may derive a picture of an aul in the western steppe.

622 556 The relation of such an aul to the question of kinship has already been proposed: they were in general groupings of families agnatically related to each other. Meyendorff's account further points up the relationship between the Kazakh aul and wealth. A rich Kazakh attracted to himself wider and wider circles of kin and formed his own village, and in this connection Meyendorff cites a line in a song, "See this aul which is that of a wealthy man." Again, we are endebted to Meyendorff for the observation that the village elder or aksakal was usually a man of substance, with a large family.[183]

[183] Meyendorff, 45-47.

[Little Horde]

622 Compare the villages of the Great Horde, where a village
552 head or elder was the one with the greatest number of kinsmen to support his point of view--in those cases where a village was not consanguineally related in a homogeneous manner.

621 Thus auls among the Kazakhs of the Little Horde and elsewhere were headed by men of wealth as well as by men of rank through birth: the case of the aul of fifty tents mentioned above was the aul of a nobleman of the Little Horde. There remains the question of the composition of the clusters of from three to six tents noted by Meyendorff. These were in all likelihood family groups composed of a father, his wife or wives, who would then get separate tents, and his married sons and their children; possibly also tents of servants, or dependent kinsmen, etc. Karuts has given a schematic description of the Kazakh aul, identical with that of the Turkmen: The Turkmen and Kazakhs live in auls, clusters of tents based on family or lineage relationship; the tents are ranged either in a straight line or in a gentle curve open to the south. The consanguineal principle in aul formation is further noted in the fact that there may be as few as two tents in an aul, one for a father and his wife, and one for a married son.[184] This is probably truer of summer camps than winter, however, because of

[184] Karuts, Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen, 65.

621 limited size. How many kin a man has; how many will inherit from him; who will support him; whom he must support; whose wife he will take in the levirate; whose son he may adopt as his own; who will help him in pasturing his flocks; the variation is of relatively small range. All these relationships are consanguineal, and for this reason the factors of the environment play a profound role in the daily life of the Kazakhs, and impose themselves on the very kinship structure.

622 The leadership of the aul, other than that of a clan or lineage chief, was in the hands of the aksakal, as of old. In the past, the incumbency of the office was based on birth, primogeniture, or alternatively, the designation of the most able son if the first was incompetent or had quarreled with his father. Later the determination was based on wealth; but in any case, his social position was the highest in the village, and his word was decisive as a rule.[281] He settled disputes and conducted the affairs of the community generally, and presided over its religious life, in the absence of a mullah; but since mullahs were rare in this part of the Turkic world, the leading of prayers, sacrifices, etc., was generally left to the aksakal.[282] Such then was the nomadic village kin community of the northeastern Kazakhs. We

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[281] Ibid., 66.

[282] Ibid., 80.